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ABSTRACT

Chicanos comprise both the oldest and newest minority in the United States with the largest number being second and third generation. They are characterized by great intra-group diversity along generational, locational, socioeconomic, and acculturational lines. There is also evidence of increasing differentiation in social relations with non-Chicanos, in family patterns, and in the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness. Yet, Chicanos share, to varying degrees, some common elements of history, culture, "blood", and position relative to the American core culture. The political experiences of a Mexican American youngster are different from those of his core culture counterpart. His political world is more "locally circumscribed" than that of core culture children. The Chicano's political development is influenced by 3 complex and interrelated phenomena: (1) his cultural values; (2) his contacts with the dominant core culture; and (3) his societal position which results from both his cultural values and his contacts with the dominant core culture. His political development is also influenced by colonialism, his physical distinctiveness, his language, the school, the local community (barrio), authority relations, and his family. (Author/NQ)

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THE POLITICAL WORLD OF THE CHICANO CHILD

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THE POLITICAL WORLD OF THE CHICANO CHILD*

INTRODUCTION

To venture into the political world of the Chicano child is to initiate a journey into a largely unknown, unmapped territory. Because Americans of Mexican ancestry have been the "forgotten people" or an "invisible minority"[1] very little systematic inquiry into their situation has occurred. An extensive search of the literature concerning the Mexican American people will reveal little empirically-validated knowledge about this nation's second largest minority. While a plethora of writing about the Afro-American, both by social scientists and by non-academic members of that group is available, such is not the case for the Chicano. The literature that does exist is mainly of two types: (1) scattered scholarly studies of very small segments of the Chicano community, usually quite limited as a basis for generalization and/or suffering from a biased, often anglocentric perspective and (2) impressionistic writings by Anglos and members of the Chicano community itself. The second type is often heavily value-laden and rhetorical in nature.

If the total volume of reliable information about the group is comparatively small, that specifically political is miniscule; and research published on the political experiences of the Chicano child is virtually non-existent. Therefore, to piece together a map of the Chicano child's political world one must employ small bits of empirical evidence gleaned from researchers in the social sciences, humanities and education; add to this the non-systematic, impressionistic observations of non-professionals whose experiences have provided glimpses into the area; and combine these with personal experiences both first-hand and vicarious of the explorer-writer. One must recognize that

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* This is a revision of a paper originally prepared for the Elementary School Political Science Curriculum Study Project of the American Political Science Association.

the experimental-psychological map of the Chicano child's political world herein presented may be analagous to those maps of the new world drawn by cartographers during the age of European Exploration. Some accurate data, later to be confirmed by further inquiry, as well as features distorted by a lack of information and the biases of the observer, will be recorded. Nevertheless, this unexplored territory is not a myth; it exists in fact, millions reside in it, and its discovery, exploration and incorporation into the known world is inevitable. It is hoped that from this initial inquiry may come sightings that will lead to more extensive and productive investigations. As the political world of the Chicano child is revealed, those who interact with him, such as educators, can adapt their relationships accordingly. One must realize of course, that the child of Mexican-Spanish ancestry shares many characteristics with American children of different ethnic backgrounds. Certain physiological and mental processes are shared by all children; and his formative situational experiences, while distinctive in several ways are also partially shared with his Anglo (non-Chicano) counterpart.

A major recent study[2] contains some additional caveats which should be heeded. First, the Mexican American people are characterized by great intra-group diversity along generational, locational, socio-economic and acculturational lines.[3] Chicanos comprise both the oldest and newest minority in the United States with the largest number being second and third generation. The 'Spanish Americans" residing in New Mexico are distinctive in several ways from "Latin Americans" of Texas, who in turn are substantially dissimilar from those persons of Mexican-

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Spanish ancestry in California. Perhaps even more important than generational and regional differences is the variation in degrees of urbanization with most (over 80%) Mexican Americans now residing in urban areas, although their rural roots are deep. While the Chicano as a group stands at the lower range of the socioeconomic scale, there is some movement into the middle class. There is also evidence of increasing differentiation in social relations with non-Chicanos, in family patterns, and in the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness. The significant point, then, is that any discussion of "the Chicano" conceals the increasing diversity of his characteristics in response to the modern pressures of urbanization and industrialization operating on all members of the American polity.

Yet these differences should not cover up the fact that there is a "minority group" of disadvantaged people in the United States who both in their own minds and those of the larger (Anglo) society are relatively recognizable and distinct. These people at least share, to varying degrees, some common elements of history, culture, "blood", and position relative to the American Core culture. What we will attempt to do is highlight the more distinctive features of the Chicano child, always keeping in mind his commonalities with other U.S. children, and relate these to his experiences with and orientations toward political phenomena.

In general the Chicano youths' political development is influenced by three complex and interrelated phenomena: (1) his cultural values, (2) his contacts with the dominant core culture, and (3) his societal position which results from both (1) and (2). Although the relationships between these are in reality inseparable, much of the discussion

about persons of Mexican-Spanish heritage has often been limited to one or two of these categories. The current state of knowledge is such that an analysis of the contribution of each of these factors to the composition of the Chicano child's political world would be premature or simply misleading. We can only hypothesize some descriptions of the child's political experiences. Analyses of how each factor, individually and in combination, effect and shape the contours of his political world must await further investigation.

Chicano Culture, Class and Colonialism

There is little doubt that the Chicano is a member of a distinctive cultural group, i.e., that he is brought up in an environment of customs, mores, values and attitudes that differ in several respects from that of the American core culture and which at least partially stems from his pre-United States parent cultures. That the American of Mexican descent is culturally distinct is implicit in the recognition of Chicanos as an "ethnic group" or "subculture." Yet there is also a widespread persistent and heated debate over the exact configuration of the Chicano culture. Anthropologists and sociologists have ascribed certain cultural characteristics to this group based on fairly weak empirical evidence. Many of these studies are quite outdated, or based on very small samples. Usually the samples have been of Mexican Americans in circumstances that are atypical of the current Chicano situation, such as those investigations of rural traditional "folk" communities. Additionally, many of the investigators give evidence of a high degree of anglocentrism, attributing undesirable

qualities to the values they "discover" when measured against their Anglo-cultural norms.[4] The lack of studies by Chicano professionals, raised in and sensitized by their culture, is a serious deficiency. Cultural values ascribed to Chicanos by (Anglo) investigators have too often formed the basis of stereotypes employed disparagingly by the core culture. This has produced a strong reaction by Chicano activists and scholars and sometimes a blanket repudiation of any social scientist's findings on cultural values.[5]

Most recent studies of Mexican American Culture, sensitive to the charges against similar inquiries, have made conscientious efforts to secure a more representative sample or at least limit the generalizability of their research findings. These studies have discovered that the urban, second or third generation Chicano is acculturated to the American core culture to a greater degree than previously reported. Many of the traditional, folk values are disappearing as behavioral norms, if not ideals. Moreover, cultural variations exhibit a great range of intra-group variation as Chicanos interact with the larger society under differing circumstances. In addition, some scholars have postulated that so-called cultural values are in reality those of any socioeconomically depressed people - a 'culture of poverty"[6] - rather than values which are solely attributable to ethnicity.[7] However, because of the lack of other sources of both descriptive and explanatory research, we must necessarily rely on literature which over-emphasizes "traditional" Mexican American culture, bearing in mind the caveats discussed above, while exploring the political world of Chicano youth.

Another major factor shaping the Chicano's political world -- his contacts with the larger society -- warrants much more attention if his political orientations are to be more fully comprehended. Many Chicano scholars feel that the generally unfavorable contact with the majority society's (racist) ideology is the critical formative element in the political development of the Mexican American. Ralph Guzman, for example, states: "The political socialization of a minority group is retarded when the host society is perceived to be, or is indeed, hostile. By comparison, cultural factors . . . have probably been of secondary importance. Fear has been a strong inhibiting factor in the world of the exploited. . . . Fear stunts the political growth of any group and it also damages its educational and economic development."[8]

The relationship between the Chicano community and the dominant core culture has been cogently described as a <u>colonial</u> relationship and his situation as one of "internal colonialism."[9] While there has been some criticism of the colonial analogy to explain the Chicano situation, the analogy is appropriate at many points. Contact between the United States and what were to become Mexican Americans was in the form of "forced entry," a conquest and take-over of an existing territorial and social entity. While the Mexican-based culture was not entirely and systematically destroyed (as was that of the black), economic and political organizations have been severely limited and Chicanos' values and cultural traits have been constantly attacked by such "Anglo-conformity" institutions as the schools and media. Members of the colonial group (the Chicano) are to a large extent administered by representatives of the dominant group in that the major political, educational and economic institutions are mostly, if not entirely controlled by non-Chicanos. And finally an element of ethnic prejudice and discrimination has formed an [continue to next page]

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underlying theme for all the above-described relationships. The existence of this superordinate-subordinate "colonial" relationship between the dominant Anglo majority and the relatively powerless Chicano must be understood to more adequately explain the political world in which the Chicano child lives.

Physical Distinctiveness

The "typical" Chicano child is "different" from the Anglo, Black or Indian child in several ways, one of the most politically salient distinctions being his physical appearance. Due to his mixed native American and European ancestry (the Spanish component itself a mixture of dark and light-skinned peoples), he ranges in appearance from fair-complexioned to very dark, with the greatest number being brown skinned, with dark eyes and hair. This simple biological fact has important political implications for the child growing up in the United States.[10] He becomes quite aware of differences in skin color very early in life, and more importantly, before the age he enters school he attaches negative and positive values to skin coloration, with his own generally darker color being evaluated as less desirable.[11] At the ages of 3 to 5 the Chicano child has an inkling of his inferior status in a very color-conscious society. These seeds of inferiority feelings and low self-esteem may stunt his development of feelings of political efficacy. At any rate, differential (subordinate) status, an important component of political behavior, is introduced very early in the life of the Chicano.

In a political system that posits equality as a value, efforts should

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be instituted to preclude such early status differentiation. The polity's formal socializing agency, the public school, can develop materials which would combat these early roots of status inequality. Curricular materials should be judicious in their use of color, avoiding the equation of light with good and dark with evil. Instructional materials portraying persons should include individuals of all skin tones found in this society and should vary the roles that these individuals assume so that a particular coloration is not continually associated with any one particular societal position. Such practices would not only realistically represent the racial composition of Americans, but would also embody the basic American political values of equality and social pluralism.

This simple fact of physical difference also contains important political lessons for the Chicano child in his intra-group relationships as well as those with the outside society. Not only can negative stigmas be excluded from educational efforts, but the positive aspects associated with a common identification among persons of similar color can also be emphasized. Indeed, the Chicano child is now maturing in an atmosphere of increasing appeals to group solidarity and ethnic consciousness. The Chicano movimiento includes many references to pride in the Chicano cultural heritage, the unique historical and cultural development of that group, and calls for the solidarity of the bronze people.[12] The child's awareness of his distinguishing external characteristics is being transformed into a feeling of pride in, and perhaps a sense of the potential power of, his group. This could constitute an important political lesson about the group nature of politics in society. Educational in-

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stitutions need not shy away from the recognition, and even the encouragement of group distinction, as long as no negative connotations are attached. Group cohesiveness may actually increase the learning abilities of individual members as well as contributing to the individual students' personal development.[13]

Language and the School

Perhaps the second most obvious external manifestation of the Chicano child's "difference" occurs when he begins to speak. Many Chicano youngsters mature in homes where Spanish is the only language spoken and are themselves monolingual upon entering school. This situation is probably decreasing as the agents of the majority English-speaking cultures increase their contacts with the child, but the tenacity of the Spanish language exceeds any other manifestation of the Chicano's cultural roots.[14] The school and the mass media are changing the lingual composition of the Chicano population and many of them, probably most of those in urban areas, now speak English, albeit sometimes with a distinguishing accent.[15] The fact that the Chicano child's speech is distinctive has important implications, even above and beyond the most essential recognition that language is intimately intertwined with cultural values.

The pre-school lingual activities of Chicanos are very likely to be in Spanish. Isolated rural communities may employ the use of English seldom if at all. In the urban barrios, the airwaves are at least as likely to be filled with Spanish as English voices.[16] Because of this lingual homogeneity in his earliest years, the first school experiences

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of the Spanish-speaking child are often such as to produce confusion, anxiety or hostility.[17] All too many schools still prohibit or at least strongly discourage the speaking of Spanish.[18] This rule is often perfunctorily "explained" to children as necessary because 'if you want to be an American you must speak American,' or 'it is not polite to speak a 'foreign' language in the presence of persons who do not understand it." In other cases no explanation is offered for the sanctions imposed upon the child caught speaking the language of his family. The child could conceivably be quite confused as to the rationale and justice of such rules. School authorities have posited a rule which seems quite incongruous with his everyday existence. One of the first contacts with agents of authority external to the family is thus characterized by perceived arbitrariness and inflexibility.

At least equally as important politically is the damage that such rule applications may have to the tender psyche of the child. When his language is rejected by outside authorities, so is the child, his family and his whole cultural style that are intertwined with the Spanish language. His distinctive speech is not only different it is also 'undesirable." This rejection of an integral part of himself, may cause feelings of inferiority and damage to the child's self-esteem. The NEA-Tucson Survey group comments: '...In telling him that he must not speak his native language, we are saying to him by implication that Spanish and the culture which it represents are of no worth. Therefore (it follows again) this particular child is of

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no worth. It should come as no surprise to us, then, that he develops a negative self-concept - an inferiority complex."[19] Such a psychological state is antithetical to those mental and spiritual qualities deemed conducive to the fulfillment of the democratic ideal of individual fulfillment through participation in public affairs.

The cognitive development of the child may also be stunted by the absence of bilingualism in the classroom. When one imagines the difficulties he himself would encounter in being thrown into a situation where all activities were carried out in a "foreign" language, the difficult situation faced by the primary school Chicano can be appreciated. It is not surprising that those Chicano children who are similar in academic achievement to their Anglo classmates, in the early grades, progressively fall behind throughout their school years, a situation whose frustration is compounded until the child drops out of school or, less frequently is able to "adjust" to the situation at a high psychic cost.[20] The more common pattern is one of frustration and finally alienation from the school, its authorities and perhaps even other core culture social and political institutions.[21]

We cannot speak of the importance of bilingual education (or the absence of it) without briefly discussing the effects of monocultural education. The relationship between particular Mexican American "cultural" values (whether or not they are unique, and whatever their 'causes') and the political orientations of the Chicano child will be more extensively examined below; here we would like to briefly focus on the results of these values not being incorporated into most Ameri-

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can classroom practices.

Even in classrooms where some bilingualism is employed, truly bi-cultural education is rarely found. Simply using Spanish when employing procedures and materials which are Anglocentric is problematic for the Chicano child. Learning materials usually reflect only the idealized customs and life-styles of middle-class, Anglo America. These presentations are very abstract and unreal to the child whose entire pre-school life has been spent in a different cultural reality. "...As a result of cultural and economic differences between the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking segments of his community, many of the objects, social relationships and cultural attitudes presented to him in lessons, though perfectly familiar to an Anglo youngster, lie without the Latin (Mexican) American's home experience.[21] The world presented and discussed in the classroom has an air of irrelevancy and unreality, since the child has very few empirical referents which could form a bridge to the unfamiliar vicarious school experience. To use a much overused word, much current educational content is "irrelevant" to a child of the Chicano culture, even more so than to the Anglo. As a result, the young student may simply turn off the picture of society being presented him. This detachment from the Anglo world may serve to foster an estrangement between the Chicano and other societal and political institutions. Deutsch has observed that ".. this transition (from family cultural context to school culture) must have serious psychological consequences for the child, and probably plays a major role in influencing his later perceptions of other social institutions as

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he is introduced to them"[22] The political system may be perceived as being just another Anglo phenomenon, totally irrelevant to the Chicano experience. Hence a large psychic gap develops between the Chicano and the American political system. Its institutions, values and operations become even more foreign.[23]

The curriculum of very few civics lessons offer hope of bridging this gap. Political institutions are presented as monolithic, unchanging entities based on English political tradition and operated by a homogeneous group of Anglo authorities. Although to some extent this picture is not entirely inaccurate when describing our national government, neither is it entirely correct, and it does exclude several features to which the Chicano child could relate. The truth is that a large part of the United States was formerly part of the child's ancestral homeland. The influence of the Mexican past is evident in many aspects of life in those areas of the country explored and settled by Spain and Mexico.[24] Recognition of the accomplishments of the Chicano's ancestors would not necessarily detract from those of the Anglo core culture and would both offer a more realistic description of the American past and provide some examples which would be more meaningful to the Chicano student. For example, in the period of pre-United States conquest, there existed thriving, viable political communities among the Spanish, Mexican and Indian ancestors of the Chicano in what is now the American southwest. Additionally, there today are several modern nation-states in this hemisphere which are of the Latin culture. Much more scholastic use could be made of the geographically and culturally close countries of Latin America,

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and more particularly Mexico, than is currently the case. The inclusion of such materials would help the Chicano student feel personally involved with his academic experience. Such academic experience could build a psychic bridge that would lead to a closer attachment to current American political institutions and practices.

In addition to the anti-Spanish bias and the non-Chicano curriculum, the teacher's relationship with the Chicano child is often a negative political experience which can further serve to alienate him from the Anglo-American system. The teacher is an extremely influential agent of political socialization, perhaps second only to the child's parents in the formation of his orientation towards authority.

Recent research indicates that the Mexican American youngster may be more sensitive to the "human element," i.e., the role of the teacher vis a vis the students, than his Anglo counterparts.[25] Ramirez has found that persons featuring a "field-sensitive" cognitive learning style are more influenced by the human element in the environment than are field independent persons. (And studies [25] reveal that the dominant cognitive style is field-sensitive for the Chicano child). Moreover disapproval and praise given by an authority figure appears to be more effective with field sensitive than with field independent children.[27]

Unfortunately for the Chicano child, the overwhelming majority of schoolteachers seem to be of the Anglo, field independent cognitive mold and tend to be more negative toward and critical of the field dependent Chicano child.[28] The recent report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights also bears this out.[29] The research revealed that: (1) teachers

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praise Anglo students 36 percent more often than Mexican students, (2) teachers respond positively to Anglo students 40 percent more often than to Chicanos, (3) teachers utilize the ideas of Anglo students 40 percent more often than those of Mexican American, and (4) teachers direct questionsto Anglos 20 percent more often than to Mexican American youngsters.

Thus the most vulnerable group of children, those who especially need the support and encouragement of this important authority figure, the teacher, are those who are least likely to receive this.

It is a fact of overriding significance that there exists a great cultural chasm between the academic world and the Chicano community, the barrio or colonia. If the school exists to serve the individual child and the community of which he is a member, attempts to establish a closer relationship between the two are imperative. The Chicano child should not be expected to easily venture out each day from the familiar, friendly confines of the barrio to a largely strange and irrelevant institution, the neighborhood school. If the community were brought into the school, the goal of multicultural education could be much more easily attained. By institutionalizing contacts between parents and the classroom, teachers and educators would be made aware of cultural values and modes of behavior which would greatly enhance the learning experience of the student. Incorporation of the Chicano parent into the educational decision-making process would not only improve the scholastic content, but would also serve as an important lesson in political education. Children would recognize their parents' having some influence on and control over their

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educational lives. Not only would this practice provide a working example of the efficacy of democratic participation in decision-making it would also give the child some idea that his people and his culture can and do have some control over their own lives. His perception of arbitrary rulemaking might be modified and a sense of political efficacy would be promoted.

Thus, the total political milieu the Chicano child experiences in the school -- into rules, language, curriculum, administrators and teachers -- would seem to leave him unfavorably disposed or at least detached from the larger outside political world.

The Local Community (Barrio)

References to the importance of his immediate community to the Chicano child suggest another important point: the political world of the Chicano is probably more locally circumscribed than that of core culture children. Whether by preference for living near persons of similar life-styles or because of discriminatory patterns practiced by the majority society, Mexican Americans reside substantially in ethnic enclaves or barrios, as the Chicano often refers to his neighborhood. The Chicano child therefore is usually immersed in a local setting permeated with a mode of living in several respects distinctive from that of the Anglo core culture. There is a substantial use of the Spanish language in conversations, the media, and commercial signs and advertisements. While there is a sense of shared values and life styles and hence a sense of community or a commonality, simultaneously extant is a certain sense of frustration, helplessness or hostility.

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Mainly because of television, barrio residents are more aware than ever of their disadvantaged socioeconomic status vis a vis the white middle class. People in positions of economic or political status are often non-barrio, non-resident, non-Chicano persons. Many of the barrio's businesses are owned by outsiders. Most governmental agents, more often than not involved in welfare or law enforcement activities, are usually Anglo. Mexican American models of success or effective leadership in the outside system are thereby lacking. It is not surprising that the barrio children primarily admire members of their own household. One investigation revealed "only a local garage mechanic, one teacher and a few television characters" included among nonhousehold exemplars.[30] The child therefore lives in a dualistic community setting characterized by friendliness and familiarity as well as reminders of his depressed, restricted status.

It is seldom necessary for the child to venture outside the barrio, the most common exception being for school attendance. The young child's awareness of extra-barrio political or social communities is therefore fairly restricted, the major contact being the media, primarily commercial television. While he readily recognizes visual symbols of the American national political community, such as the U.S. flag, he is less likely to have much additional awareness of the various levels of political subdivisions in which he resides.[24] Most familiar to him is the name of the city in which he resides, then his state of residence and finally the national unit. On the other hand, he demonstrates greater affect for the national government then for either

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the state or local regimes. The implications for curricula development for political education is obvious. The focus, at least in the earliest grades, should be upon those political institutions to which the child is most closely linked both cognitively and affectively - the local political community and a few agencies of the higher levels of government as they relate to the local community.

Authority Relations

The concept of authority must underpin much of any discussion of politics, education and Chicano cultural values. There is little doubt that authority is one of the basic political concepts, for it is crucial to at least one common definition of politics, e.g., the authoritative allocation of resources. A multitude of studies have been produced by political scientists ranging from philosophical treatises on the nature of authority, through its necessity for system stability, to behavioral studies of its varying uses and applications. Educationists and educators are also very concerned with the concept, both in its establishment and proper allocation with the hierarchy of the educational system, and the inculcation of respect for authority in students.

Almost all investigators of Chicano cultural values have held that authority relationships are extremely important to Mexican Americans. The family is said to be authoritarian in nature with the father in the position of ultimate authority.[32] This is particularly true with regard to matters involving other than household decisions where the mother may have some role in the decision-making process. Decisions are usually made unilaterally; children certainly are not expected to

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participate in the making of decisions. (It should also be noted that most Mexican Americans are Catholics, and that the Catholic Church is quite hierarchical in its organization and "authoritarian" in its religious beliefs. Religious experience would provide a powerful and long-lasting reinforcement of attitudes supportive of authority).

Some students of political socialization have held that authority patterns within the family have a profound effect on the attitudes of children toward political authority.[33] Through a process of indirect learning, the child applies his lessons about authority learned in the home to his larger political life. Thus the Mexican American child might conceivably be disposed towards anthoritarianism in his political dealings. One study has discovered that Chicano children do measure higher on a test of authoritarian attitudes than do their non-Chicano classmates.[34] As additional, if tangential evidence, some observers have pointed to a perceived proclivity of Latin American countries (including Mexico) toward having strongly authoritarian political systems.[35]

School are often viewed by adminstrators and teachers as authoritarian systems, and democratic decision-making in the classroom is often absent.[36] Typical school experiences could thereby reinforce any pattern of authoritarianism present in the Chicano home, further vitiating the kind of democratic decision-making that is espoused as an American political norm.

If these observations are correct, it would be unlikely that the Chicano child would develop patterns of behavior characteristic of the ideal "participant" in the civil culture. Indeed, third grade

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Chicano children are less supporters of the norm of maximizing popular participation in governmental decision making than are their Anglo classmates.[37] However, as the Mexican American matures he becomes a very strong supporter of non-restrictive decision making. At the same time, at all ages many Chicano children do express belief in other democratic values. They overwhelmingly support the desirability of democracy, and strongly believe in democratic goals such as individual rights, majority rule, and equality.[38] This ideal, however, must exist at a great psychic distance from their perception of actual political behavior, for as they grow older, Chicano youths also become very pessimistic about the efficacy of their political participation as they mature.[39] They also manifest low levels of a sense of civic duty (or electoral obligation).[40] While these less participative orientations might be attributed to their non-democratic learning experiences in the family and school, they are more plausibly the outcome of relationships with secondary socializing agents as they mature and experience political reality first hand. While the Chicano in the early primary grades is nearly as supportive of democratic regime norms as his Anglo classmate, a negative divergence develops with increasing age, thus suggesting that these Chicano youths' attitudes are more the product of his direct experiences with the larger society (further discussed below). The nature and outcome of such a situation has been summarized by Donald Young:

"...The minority individual is faced with an array of incongruent values from which he must make choices. Usually this is done without

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conscious thought about the matter. The dominant majority presents him with an idealized series of values which may be characterized as democratic and duty-oriented, but at the same time makes it plain that they apply to him only within vague and punishing limits. These values encourage him...to participate in government and community affairs, but he is also kept aware of his contradictory ascribed low status. From within the minority with which he is identified there are opposing pressures to hold firmly to traditional group values...to resign himself to objectives in accord with his majority ascribed status and roles.... The result for many, of course, is a set of values inconsistent with each other to an unfortunate degree, with the requirements of day to day existence, and with the aims of the larger society."[41]

With reference to the Chicano child's perception of authority, the colonial situation in which he finds himself serves to further elaborate and shape his orientations. In this case the young child is confronted with a tremendous set of reinforcing factors. Not only may he be exposed to cultural-familial and educational authoritarianism but additionally his whole subcultural world also lacks authority. His familial ruler, his father, is eventually recognized as being very subordinate to the Anglo authorities.[42] It is most likely that any political authorities he encounters will be members of the colonial power, i.e., Anglos. Very few Mexican Americans hold high political positions. Those two authorities deemed most crucial to a child's early political socialization - the President

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and the policeman - are almost inevitably non-Chicano. The economic authorities, owners of the barrio business, are usually non-Chicano. The educational authorities in his life are more often than not Anglo, if not the teacher then almost certainly the principal.

At home, he has also been taught a great respect for authority, including what might be considered by Anglos to be extreme subservience and courtesy, toward all his elders. It may be said that the allocation of authority is ascribed rather than achieved. During that stage when his cognitive ability is still underdeveloped, the Chicano child will probably greatly "idealize" authority, regardless of its specific nature. There is evidence, for example, that his early perception of the President and policeman are even more positive than that of his Anglo cohort.[43] But as the Chicano matures and increasingly experiences abrasive contacts with the "colonial" authorities and can more adequately comprehend the subordinated nature of his societal position, he becomes tremendously disenchanted with these particular political authorities, with school authorities, and perhaps with "outside" authorities in general.[44] Extrafamilial authority may be rejected as a quality possessed only by Anglos (or those acceptable to them), and at best irrelevant, or more likely antagonistic, to the Chicano way of life.

As an example of secondary socialization experience which may produce tremendous de-idealization of respect for political authorities, we may examine Chicano-police relationships. Evidence is mixed as to the feelings of the young Chicano toward the police.[45]

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Whatever his emotional valence at this stage, a child's attitude is largely a reflection of those whom he perceives as "significant others," namely, members of his family. The lower class adult Chicano is likely to have different types of contact with the police than do his middle class, especially Anglo, peers.[46] Police usually are acting as service agents in the Anglo middle class community -- investigating complaints, protecting the security of the area, even performing errands. On the other hand, the policeman is usually observed in the barrio acting in his role of law enforcer or even punisher. He is seen breaking up fights, arresting people, searching them and engaging in other unpleasant activities. Many statistics have been gathered to show that arrests for similar legal reasons occur at a much higher level in barrios than in white, middle-class areas.[47] Additionally, it is all too often the case that policemen who patrol the barrios are not Chicanos, do not speak Spanish and/or live outside the area. It is therefore not difficult to understand the charge by barrio militants that the police are the colonial power's occupation troops" keeping the Chicano in his place.

In light of this situation, if the young Chicano child should demonstrate high affect for the police, it is probably because his parents are shielding him from the true facts of barrio - police relations, or else the traditional respect for authority has overcome his or his parents' observations. However, as the child matures and his socialization becomes more a matter of direct experience and peer group contact and less a reflection of the

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opinions of his parents, his observations and experiences with police harrassment result in an extremely low evaluation of law enforcement authorities.

Some schools do attempt to improve the image of the police as benevolent, protective public servants, but the influence of ghetto and barrio "the policeman is your friend" programs seem to melt away in the heat of actual barrio police contacts.

The Family

As suggested in our discussion of the Chicano's evaluation of authority, the family occupies a crucial position in the life experience of the Chicano youth. La Familia is probably the most studied of all Chicano institutions because of its central place in the Mexican Americans' relationships. Traditionally, family ties are generally strong and highly valued by the individual; the family is the most important reference group for most individuals. Murillo emphasizes its pre-eminence:

"For the Chicano, the family is likely to be the single most important social unit in life. It is usually at the core of his thinking and behavior and is the center from which his view of the rest of his world extends. Even with respect to identification the Chicano self is likely to take second place to the family.[48]

Discussing a significant difference between barrio children and Anglo and Negro children, Goodman writes:

"The barrio children value their parents and other kin, of all ages. No one and nothing takes precedence over kin in their values

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hierarchy.[49] La Familia has evidenced a remarkable amount of stability and continued viability, located as it typically is in an atmosphere of tremendous change and erosion through disculturation.[50] The disintegration of the family unit, the high rate of divorce, the estrangement of children from their parents and the lack of ties between members of other than the immediate, "nuclear" family is found to a lesser degree in the Chicano subculture than in the Anglo society.[51] The child matures within an atmosphere of affection, security and mutual respect, conditions which significantly affect the contours of his political world.

The experiences that occur within the family have important implications for the political learning of the Chicano child. As previously noted, the traditional family is usually a patriarchial authoritarian system within which democratic norms would cause much conflict. Power is unequally distributed, generally along the lines of age and sex, with males and adults in the decision-making roles. Conflicts, such as fights between children, are greatly discouraged, and squabbles can be most firmly resolved by the edict of the father. Rules governing conduct are established early and children place much emphasis on their observance. There is little ambiguity in the kind of behavior expected from them. A major research effort which, in the main, found many values of the traditional folk culture absent in the contemporary, urban Mexican American, expressed surprise at finding the persistence of the cultural ideal defining the role of the child. The ideal is described thusly:

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"In the traditional Mexican-American family, particularly in the middle class, there seems to have been a very distinct ideal of what is appropriate behavior for children. The "well-brought-up" child is a model of respect. He knows his place in the family scheme of things and does not trespass in spheres of life where he has no business. This model extends from family life to other roles."[52]

This strict, well-defined role could contribute to the future political behavior of Mexican American adults. The Mexican American has been characterized as being "passive" in his political reactions, i.e., he has tended to resign himself to the unfavorable conditions imposed upon him by the American system. Although this characterization overlooks a great deal of the actual history of Chicano resistance to his harsh and restrictive treatment, any truth it does contain may be partly due to the code of behavior termed disciplina. The Mexican American may come to internally accept the subordinate, inactive status assigned to him by this society. "Knowing his place" he may hesitate to step out of the bounds of ascribed behavior and engage in political activities that would "rock the boat," i.e., attempt to effect major change in the status quo. It is not surprising that Mexican Americans are especially inclined to picture the ideal citizen as "someone who always obeys the laws."[53]

Children in the Mexican American family are treated differentially along sex lines. Both male and female youngsters are shown the same degree of warmth and affection by both parents, but the

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roles prescribed for each are quite distinct. The male child is "favored" only in that his upbringing is directed as a preparation for the world outside the home, and he is thus allowed more freedom, especially from puberty onward. Girls are expected to emulate the domestic-oriented role behaviors of their mothers and are tightly sheltered and protected at the onset of puberty.

This explicit and strong sex-role differentiation may be reflected in distinctive political behaviors and attitudes of Chicano children. The tendency for girls to be less politicized than boys, noted in much of the political socialization literature,[54] should be magnified in the Mexican American milieu. Young Chicanos might be expected to manifest weaker dispositions toward participation in politics. Basic orientations toward the political system may not be as sexually distinct, although attitudes toward authority (and political authorities) are probably an exception, with girls manifesting higher levels of idealization.[55] This situation may not be as applicable to the urbanized, more highly Anglo-acculturated Mexican American than to the more traditional Chicano.

Because Chicano barrio children value their parents and the relatives so highly, their expressed motives for engaging in certain activities or accomplishing some particular task is often stated in familial rather than individual terms. Achievements bring pride to the family; failures are seen as bringing dishonor to the group. For this reason, the family is probably an even more important agent of political socialization for the Chicano child than for children

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of other ethnic cultures. Many other values of political significance are imparted within the security of la familia and these will be discussed at greater length in the following section.

Other Formative Features

Motivational bases for the Chicano and Anglo child seem to differ. The Anglo, often inbued with the values of the Protestant Ethnic, has internalized feelings of a hard-working drive toward individual achievement. Through competition with other individuals, the Anglo child achieves his status and the recognition of success. This value is promulgated in school practices through the emphasis on the individual student's competition for grades with his classmates. Political success, in turn, is equated with an individual's attaining a high position in government, irrespective of the consequences for his family, community or ethnic group.

In contrast, the Chicano child is motivated more by an urge to accomplish something for his family, to either bring honor or material rewards to his relatives. Individual success, without concurrent improvement in familial status, is contrary to his psychological make-up. Goodman maintains that in contrast to the ideal value-patterns of Anglo and Negro children, power, wealth and prestige are little valued or pondered by the Chicano child.[56] Criticism by the Anglo culture has been directed at the Chicano who never "succeeds" because of his felt obligation to share his material wealth with the less privileged of his kin, with the result that he can never accumulate

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the material trappings of success. For the Chicano, attainment of political office may be seen as a means toward increased opportunities for relatives in the form of patronage or other means of securing a greater share of material benefits.

Instead of inculcating in the child a drive toward competition, the Chicano family is more likely to instill in its young the norm of cooperation.[57] Teachers of Chicano students are often distraught over their tendency to "cheat," i.e., help one another with assignments and projects both in and out of the classroom. The political game is by nature highly competitive and conflictual, a feature which may make it unappealing to young Chicanos. However, civic education seldom stresses the role of conflict and competition in politics, instead presenting a distorted picture of overwhelming consensus and cooperation. While the image may appear more congruent with the Chicano values, it is dysfunctional to their adequate preparation for future political participation.

Perhaps an approval that reconciles the group-directedness and noncompetitive value of the Chicano child could be devised. Political competition could be presented as being more a group-based struggle for a greater share of resources than an atomistic relationship between the individual and his government. Participation in political activities might then be considered an avenue through which the Chicano could bring both psychological and material reward to his relatives and his ethnic group.

This latter point reminds us that, at present, levels of "ethnic

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consciousness" are being raised. Calls are heard for black, brown and red power, intra-ethnic solidarity, and the establishment of separate ethnic-controlled institutions and territories. In the Chicano community, increasing use is made of unifying symbols of pride, such as the flags of Mexico and the United Farm Worker's organization, references to the success and unity of the Chicano people's past and present, the concept of Aztlan (the northwest region of the ancient Aztec kingdom, the present U.S. southwest) and La Raza (the "peoplehood" of those sharing a common past). Political appeals are made along ethnic lines with some success at constructing a Chicano "third party" (La Raza Unida).

The child is quite aware that he belongs to a distinctive subculture and is increasingly becoming aware that this group may also be a political entity with interests and objectives at least partially different from that of other groups. Thus the group basis of politics is early becoming an integral part of his cognitive makeup. Since this model of politics is considered by many scholars to be most accurately descriptive of the nature of America's politics, a cognitive foundation for realistic, meaningful political education in the classroom may already exist and awaits further development.

Summary and Conclusion

We have attempted to chart some of the major features of the political world of the Chicano child. The Mexican American youngster undergoes political experiences that are different from his core culture counterpart. The factors forming the distinctive contours of

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his political world include some unique ethnic values, his generally subordinate socioeconomic status and his unpleasant experiences with a non-receptive majority core culture. The latter, stemming from negative reactions to the Chicano's lingual, cultural and sometimes physical differences, tend to create a world apart from that of the Anglo system. The child may become alienated and detached from core cultural political institutions. Any early attachment to political authorities, fostered in the home, are severly strained and often snapped as the child contacts the hostile outside world.

Whether unique to Mexican Americans or more generally a feature of lower class culture, the Chicano family's values and norms are particularly forceful shapers of the youngsters' political world. Most of the child's politically significant experiences occur within a closely-circumscribed world of the barrio or family group. Power and status are distributed ascriptively, the decision-making arena is quite restricted, and rules are fairly rigid and promulgated patriarchically or at least by elder kin. The situation more closely resembles an elite model of politics than a pluralist democracy. It may be significant that this description applies as well to the situation of the Chicano people as a whole vis a vis the Anglo "colonial power structure." The result may well be a subject rather than participant orientation toward system politics.[58] Thus, a major feature of the political world of the Chicano child is that it is objectively and subjectively very restricted in scope.

It is hoped that this attempt at a preliminary mapping of the

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Chicano child's political world will at least sensitize non-Chicanos to some of its salient considerations that should be considered when interacting with the child. Moreover, perhaps the identification of some landmarks may spur others towards further explorations. On the other hand, it is also hoped that this depiction of an ideal-type child and his world will not obscure the vast heterogeneity and tremendous amount of change occurring in the Mexican American community. We sincerely wish to avoid contributing to the perpetuation of the sterotypes which have been the basis for misunderstanding and have contributed to the matual suspicion and distrust between Anglo and Mexican Americans. Unfortunately, stereotypes can provide easily understandable "reasons" for the status and behavior of Chicanos. They may allow an easy rationalization for maintaining the status quo and make unnecessary any attempt to improve conditions.

As Mexican Americans move farther from some cultural values and form new ones, synthesized from traditional values and life-situations in the United States and contacts with the Anglo-majority ideology, those wishing to understand the Chicano child must undertake new studies, sensitive to the Chicano experience and free of the socio-ideological blinders of past research. Like the acceptance of a map, drawn from limited data, reliance on past research will tend to discourage further exploration and charting of the ever-changing, multi-faceted political world of the Chicano child.

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FOOTNOTES

1. As emphasized in the titles of books such as Julian Samora, (ed.), LaRaza: Forgotten Americans, South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966; George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans, Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1940; and the NEA-Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, The Invisible Minority, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, Department of Rural Education, 1966.

2. Leo Grebler, Joan Moore and Ralph Guzman, The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority, New York: The Free Press, 1970.

3. Typologies of Mexican Americans which are useful in analyzing the variations in Chicano culture have been developed by T.A. Arciniega; Public Education's Response to the Mexican American Student, El Paso, Texas: Innovative Resources Incorporated, 1971; Edward J. Casavantes, A New Look at the Attributes of the Mexican American, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwest Cooperative Education Laboratory, 1969; and Fernando Penalosa, "Toward an Operational Definition of the Mexican American," Aztlan, 1(1970), 1-12.

4. Such studies include M.S. Edmondson, Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values, New Orleans: Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, 1957; Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth at the Crossroads, New York: Random House, 1966; Florence R. Kluckhohn, "The Spanish Americans of Atrisco," in F.R. Kluckhohn and F.L. Strodtbeck, eds., Variations in Value Orientations, Evanston, Illinois: Row,

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Peterson, 1961; William H. Madsden, Mexican Americans of South Texas, New York Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964; A.J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans In a Texas City, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966; Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Core: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the South-West, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954; Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The Fist; Mexican Americans In a Southwest City, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1946; and Frances J. Woods, Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.

5. Critics of social scientific negative stereotyping of Mexican American culture include Deluvina Hernandez, Mexican American Challenge to a Sacred Cow, Los Angeles: University of California, Mexican American Cultural Center, March, 1970; Octavio I. Romano-V, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History," El Grito, II (Fall, 1968), 13-26; and Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican American in the Social Sciences: 1912-1970, El Grito, III, (Spring, 1970), 3-24 and IV, (Fall, 1970), 17-52.

6. As formulated by Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Scientific American, 215, No. 4 (1962), 19-25.

7. For example, Edward J. Casavantes, "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilema," Civil Rights Digest, 3 (Winter, 1970), 22-27; Hernandez, Mexican American Challenge.

8. Ralph C. Guzman, "The Function of Anglo-American Racism in the Political Development of Chicanos," California Historical Quarterly, 50, No. 1 (September, 1971), 321-37.

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9. See, for example, Mario Barrera, Carlos Munoz and Charles Orvelas, "The Barrio as an Internal Colony," People and Politics in Urban Society, Urban Affairs Annual Review, Vol. 6. Edited by Harlan Hahn. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications 1972; also Tomas Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," Aztlan, 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1971), 7-20; and Joan Moore, Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican American," Social Problems, 17 (Spring 1970), 463-72.

10. Since "racism" has been recognized as an integral feature of American society. See Louis Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, Institutional Racism in America, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969; Report of the Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), New York: Bantam, 1968.

11. Norman E. Werner and Idella M. Evans, "Perception of Prejudice in Mexican-American Preschool Children," Perceptual and Motor Skills, 27 (1968), 1039-46; and Cecilia Cota-Robles de Suarez, "Skin Color as a Factor of Racial Identification and Preference of Young Chicano Children," Aztlan, 2, No. 1 (Spring 1971), 107-150.

12. For example: "With our heart in our hand and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nations. We are a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the Bronze Continent, we are a Nation..." Spiritual Plan of Aztlan, Chicano Youth Conference, Denver, Colorado, 1969.

13. D. Cohen, J.W. Whitmyre and W.H. Funk, "Effect of Group Cohesiveness and Training on Creative Thinking," Journal of Applied Psychology,

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44 (1960), 319-22; and A.J. Lott and B.E. Lott,"Group Cohesiveness and Individual Learning," Journal of Educational Psychology, 57, No. 2 (1966) 61-73.

14. See Jane A. Christian and Chester Christian, Jr., "Spanish Language and Culture in the Southwest," in J.A. Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States: the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups, The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1966.

15. Grebler, et. al., Mexican American People, 423-28.

16. Ibid.

17. NEA-Tucson Survey, Invisible Minority.

18. Recent examplers are cited in Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970, pp. 97-98. A recent survey of Southwestern schools revealed that one-third discourage the use of Spanish in the classroom and 15 percent frown upon children speaking Spanish on the school grounds. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Excluded Student, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972.

19. Tucson Survey, Invisible Minority, p.11. In a study specifically focusing on the differences in political orientations between English-speaking (Anglo and Mexican American) and Spanish-speaking students, James Lamare discovered that the latter exhibited lower levels of personal competence and political efficacy than their English-oriented

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classmates. James W. Lamare, "Language Environment and the Political Socialization of Mexican American Children," mimeographed, University of Texas at El Paso, 1973.

20. Carter, Mexican Americans In School, 133-143.

21. Tucson Survey, Invisible Minority, pp. 8-9.

22. Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," in A. Harry Passow, editor, Education in Depressed Areas, New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963.

23. For evidence from school surveys generally supporting this point see: Catherine Cornbleth. "Political Socialization and the Social Studies: Political Beliefs of Mexican-American youth," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1971; F. Chris Garcia, The Political Socialization of Chicano Children: A Comparison with Anglos in California Schools, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973; Armanda Gutierrez and Herbert Hirsch, "The Militant Challenge to the American Ethos: 'Chicanos' and 'Mexican Americans', "Social Science Quarterly, 53, No. 4 (March, 1973), 830-845; Herbert Hirsch, "Political Scientist and Other Camoradas," paper presented at the Workshop on Southwest Ethnic Groups: Sociopolitical Environment and Education, Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center, University of Texas at El Paso, 1972; James Lamare, "Language Environment and Political Socialization,"; Barbara Ann Presnall, "The Political Socialization of Mexican American and Anglo Children: A Comparison, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1973.

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24. Three histories providing some Chicano perspective are Rodolfo Acuna, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation, San Francisco: Confield Press, 1972; Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans, New York: Hill and Wang, 1972; and Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States, New York: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1961.

25. Manuel Ramirez III, "Cognitive Styles and Cultural Democracy in Education," Social Science Quarterly, 53, No. 4 (March, 1973), 895-904.

26. Ibid., p. 902; also D. Canavan, "Field Dependence in Children as a Function of Grade, Sex and Ethnic Group Membership," paper presented at the American Psychological Association meeting, Washington D.C., 1969.

27. Norma Konstadt and Elaine Forman, "Field Dependence and External Directedness," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1 (1965), 490-493.

28. Joseph J. DiStefano, "Interpersonal Perceptions of Field Independent and Dependent Teachers and Students," Working Paper Series No. 43 (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, Nov., 1970).

29. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Teachers and Students: Differences in Teacher Interaction With Mexican American and Anglo Students. Report V: Mexican American Education Study. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

30. A sensitive and scholarly description of life in an urban barrio is provided in Mary Ellen Goodman, The Mexican American Population of Houston: A survey in the Field, 1965-1970, Houston, Texas: Rice University, 1971.

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31. F. Chris Garcia, The Political Socialization of Chicano Children: A Comparison with Anglos in California, New York: Praeger, 1973.

32. Although this may be a characteristic of any "culture of poverty," there is little evidence that strong paternal authority is not a feature of the Mexican American family. For example, while conceding the former, Goodman states that "in the authority dimension the father takes precedence. He is seen as a somewhat distant but not easily forgotten figure." Goodman, Mexican American Population, p. 60. In a sympathetic and cautious discourse on the Mexican American family, Murillo writes that "the husband and father is the autocratic head of the household," and "...in essence, the father represents authority within the family." Nathan Murillo, "The Mexican American Family," in N.N. Wagner and M.J. Haug, Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives, St. Louis: C.V. Mosby, 1971, p. 103.

Grebler, et. al., suggest that partriarchy has been more an ideal than a behavioral norm and that "the ideas of younger, better paid, and less ghetto-bound Mexican Americans about the fathers' role are no longer quite so tenaciously patriarchal as some of the literature suggests. Masculinity is perhaps not quite so associated with dominance as it may have been in the past." Grebler, et. al., Mexican American People, p. 362.

33. See, for example, Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969; and Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

34. Manuel Ramirez III, "Identification with Mexican American Family Values and Authoritarianism in Mexican Americans," Journal of Social Psychology, 73 (Oct., 1967), 3-11.

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35. It should be pointed out that the application of Mexican characteristics to Americans of Mexican ancestry is common, but such an approach ignores the great differences in the experiences and histories of the two.

36. Carter, Mexican Americans In School

37. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children.

38. Ibid; also Gutierrez and Hirsch, "Militant Challenge to the American Ethos," pp. 839-40.

39. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children; Lamare, "Language Environment and the Political Socilization of Mexican American Children;" and Fresnall, "Political Socialization of Mexican American and Anglo Children."

40. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children, and Fresnall, "Political Socialization of Mexican American and Anglo Children."

41. Donald R. Young, "The Socialization of Minority Peoples," in David A. Goslin, ed., Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969, pp. 1114-1115.

42. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children. At the elementary age level the President is seen as superior to their father in authority and power. By junior high, the policeman ranks as the most authoritative figure.

43. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children; Goodman, Mexican

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American Population, p. 62.

44. Robert L. Derbyshire, "Children's Perceptions of the Police: A Comparative Study of Attitudes and Attitude Change," Journal of Criminal Law, 59, No. 2 (1968)

45. Researchers finding early positive orientations toward the police include Garcia, Goodman and Joaquin Thomas Vigil, "A Comparision of Selected Perceptions of Spanish-speaking Students and non-Spanish-speaking Students," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Greeley: Colorado State College, 1968. Derbyshire found young Mexican American children to have higher levels of "entipathy" toward police than did blacks and Anglos.

46. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mexican Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest.

47. Armando Morales, "Mental and Public Health Issues: The Care of the Mexican American in Los Angeles," El Grito, 3, No. 2 (1970), 3-11; and "Police Deployment Theories and the Mexican American Community," El Grito, 4, No. 1 (Fall, 1970), 52-64.

48. Nathan Murillo, "The Mexican American Family," in Wagner and Haug, Chicanos, p. 100.

49. Goodman, Mexican American Population, p. 67.

50. Robert Staples, "The Mexican American Family: Its Modifications Over Time and Space," Phylon, 32, (Summer, 1971), 179-192.

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51. Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna, Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago, Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report No. 8, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967.

52. Grebler, et. al., Mexican American People, p. 366.

53. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children. Again, the reader is reminded that any acceptance of the status quo may be at least equally attributable to the repressive practices of the larger society and the Chicanos' consequently quite rational reaction -- withdrawal.

54. For example, Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

55. Young Chicanas are apparently more impressed with the President's ability to force compliance than are their male counterparts. Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children.

56. Goodman, Mexican American Population, p. 66.

57. Spencer Kagan and Millard C. Madsen, "Cooperation and Competition of Mexican, Mexican-American and Anglo-American Children of Two Ages Under Four Instructional Sets," Developmental Psychology, 5 (1971), 32-39; Millard C. Madsen and Aricella Shapira, "Cooperative and Competitive Behavior of Urban Afro-American, Anglo-American, Mexican American, Mexican Villager Children," Developmental Psychology, 3 (1970), 16-20; and Millard C. Madsen "Developmental and Cross-Cultural Differences in the Cooperative and Competitive Behavior of Young Children," Journal of

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Cross-Cultural Psychology, 24, No. 4 (December, 1971), 365-71.

58. A thorough elaboration of these orientations is contained in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.